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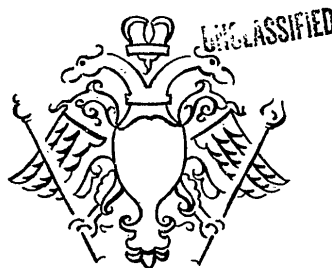
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CYPRUS



THAT HELLENIC ISLAND

GLADSTONE



It is taken for granted that tourists, visiting Greece would normally wish to learn about the country as much as possible. No one can claim, however, to know enough about present day Greece, without acquiring some knowledge about the Cyprus question. No one would like to be at a loss when questioned on a subject of such importance, particularly if one has been to Greece recently. We therefore think that it would be useful for the alert and curious visitor to have a pamphlet on Cyprus giving mere facts.

Greece brought up the Cyprus issue. She is concerned with Cyprus for three reasons

1) Greece believes in Freedom, not as an abstract ideal but as a vital necessity

2) Greece believes that all peoples are entitled to enjoy this supreme right; and she supports the struggle of other peoples to attain this freedom (most recently in Korea) with as much conviction and fighting spirit as she does for her own.

3) In Cyprus today, 420,000 people whose origin, name, language, religion and soul are Greek, are claiming the elementary human right of self-determination.

The Greeks of Cyprus, who make up 82% of the population, never ceased fighting for their independence. When in 1878 Britain's Prime Minister Disraeli purchased Cyprus from the Turks, the Greeks obviously considered this as the first major step towards their ultimate achievement of independence. Disillusionment was not long in coming, and so they resumed their resistance. Time and again they received official British promises, only to see them come to nothing. In 1931 the first organized revolt against British rule broke out. It failed, and was followed by crushing penalties. In 1950 the Ethnarchy of Cyprus organized a plebiscite which proved that 96% of the island's Greek population demanded ENOSIS, or union with Greece. In April 1954, after Greece failed in the sustaining efforts to persuade Great Britain to discuss the issue, it was decided to place it before U.N.O. The subject was included on the General Assembly's Agenda, and the Cyprus question was

subsequently declared to be «open internationally», but it was decided to postpone a decision «for the time being».

The issue was brought before UNO again the following year. In order to avert a discussion of it, Britain held a Tri-partite Conference in London, ostensibly to find a solution but in reality as a pretext for involving Turkey in the issue. The results of this ill-motivated British move, became apparent when the Turks launched their vandalistic attacks against the Greek minority of Constantinople.

In the meantime, embittered by the dishonorable and contemptuous attitude of the «great defenders of Freedom», the people of Cyprus decided to resort to armed resistance in their struggle for self-determination. A little while later, Greece's second appeal to the UNO was barred from inclusion on the Agenda of the General Assembly. This situation led to the critical point now reached, after Greece's repeated efforts at finding a peaceful settlement met a growing inflexibility on the part of Britain, and finally with the enforcement of extremely harsh suppressive measures, comparable in cruelty with the methods of the Inquisition. Execution by hanging, mass arrests, deportations, destruction of property, collective fines, closing of schools, devastation of cultivated areas, lashing of children, and finally incitement of the Turkish minority to acts of violence against the Greeks - this is the sample picture of the «civilizing drive» launched by Britain in her Cyprus Colony, the only colony left in Europe in the 20th century.

That very briefly is the history of the question. However, the reader cannot form a complete and clear understanding of it without knowing the arguments on which the Cypriot people base their demand for self-determination and Greece its appeal to UNO. These are :

1. The provisions of the UNO Charter concerning self-determination.

2. The fact that the island is Greek, historically and ethnologically.

3. The suitability of the present time, when international conditions and the defence of the West are at a most satisfactory point.

4. The fact that NATO will be better served by a base located in territory inhabited by a friendly people.

5. The island's small Turkish minority will enjoy the same treatment, insofar as religious and political freedom are concerned, as now existing Turkish minorities in Greece.

Each of these arguments requires a short and precise analysis. Who is to undertake it, though? We, as Greeks, might be suspected of partiality. Consequently, we think it best to leave it to non-Greeks. And preferably to the British themselves, because; the gaoler who intercedes in behalf of an innocent prisoner or helps him to escape, or the prosecutor who refuses to prosecute a person whom he believes

innocent are, you will admit, examples of a high level of moral development.

1. The Provisions of the UNO Charter concerning Self-determination.

The people of Cyprus, just as the people of the Gold Coast, are entitled to govern their own affairs. Our refusal to grant them self-government is an offence against our pledged word in the Atlantic Charter, in the UN Charter and in the Charter of Human Liberties.

CLEMENT DAVIES, Leader of the British Liberal Party, October 2, 1954.

The Labour Party believes that Cypriots, like any other people, have an ultimate right to self-determination.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY - January 1955.

Would we welcome the prospect of being charged before the United Nations with crimes against liberty?

NEWS CHRONICLE - August 5, 1954.

2. The fact that the island is Greek historically and ethnologically.

«I subjoin the satisfaction I should feel were it granted me, before the close of my long life, to see the population of that Hellenic island placed by a friendly arrangement in organic union with their brethren of the Kingdom of Greece».

THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE - Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1897.

«I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished. Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which so nobly characterizes the Greek Nation».

THE RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, Colonial Under-Secretary - 1907.

«It is a great many years since I visited Cyprus, and exactly the same feelings were alive then as are alive now».

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, Prime Minister of Great Britain, October 19, 1954.

«The Greekness of Cypriots is, in my opinion, indisputable. Nationalism is more, is other, is greater than pigmentation or cephalic indices. A man is of the race of which he passionately feels himself to be. No sensible person will deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling...»

SIR RONALD STORRS - Governor of Cyprus from 1926 - 32.

The fact is that Cyprus has been Greek for 3,300 years, a far longer time than this island has been English or English-speaking...

MR. JOHN PARKER, MP. for Dagenham, House of Commons, July 23, 1954.

3. The Sulfability of the present time when international conditions and the defence of the West are at a most satisfactory point.

«This demand is as old as British occupation - indeed, older».

THE TIMES - February 23, 1954.

The Archbishop of Cyprus welcomed the first British Governor in 1878 in a speech which spoke of Enosis. An appeal was made to Gladstone in 1881; a new petition in 1885; another to Joseph Chamberlain in 1896; a motion was laid before the Legislative Council in 1903; Sir Winston Churchill, then Under-Secretary for the Colonies, witnessed a great popular demonstration when he visited Cyprus in 1907; a delegation was sent to London in 1923; another in 1929; another in 1946; a plebiscite was organized in 1950 by the Cypriots themselves. Ever since the British went to Cyprus, three quarters of a century ago, there has been a constant, unrelenting assertion of the demand.

NOEL - BAKER, The Derby Evening Telegraph, August 29, 1954.

«The principles laid down in the main resolution before the Conference (the right of all nations to determine their own fate and to decide to which state they will belong within the League of Nations) will be applied, as far as the British Labour Party is concerned, to the people of Cyprus».

THE RT. HON. RAMSAY McDONALD, Prime Minister of Great Britain - Berne, February 21, 1919.

«The wishes of the inhabitants of Cyprus for union with Greece will be taken into a most careful and sympathetic consideration by the Government when they consider its future».

THE RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, Prime Minister of Great Britain, November 14, 1919.

4. The Strategic argument.

«One wonders how can a Government, which in Egypt has seen and accepted the hard fact that it is impossible and undesirable to try to maintain a base in the midst of a hostile population, try to do just this in Cyprus?... 95% of the Greeks voted for union with Greece...»

Article by LENA JEGGER, MP. for Holborn and St. Pancras - TRIBUNE - August 6, 1954.

«It is certain that Cyprus will be a much more effective strategic centre as part of Greece than as an unwilling British Colony, and I firmly believe that the majority of men and women in Great Britain realize this».

Article by SIR COMPTON MACKENZIE - Sunday Despatch - August 29, 1954.

The Greek Government have already made it perfectly clear that, as a member of NATO they are prepared to offer full facilities to other NATO Powers, including of course

Great Britain, in any strategic purposes which we might work out together.

MRS. LENA JEGGER, MP. for Holborn and St. Pancras, South. - House of Commons, July 28, 1954.

«Our relations with Greece, which used to be so good, are deteriorating, and in consequence the organization of Western defence in the Mediterranean has been weakened....»

«While this Unrest goes on in Cyprus, Greece will stand out of Mediterranean defence and the Western Alliance will suffer».

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL, House of Lords - June 15, 1955.

«I say that it is the right thing to evacuate Egypt - and it is - then it is the right thing to evacuate Cyprus, and to do it in good time».

MR. R.H.S. GROSSMAN, MP. for Coventry East - July 28, 1954.

«Surely the whole post-war history of the Greeks proves that we have no more reliable ally on the continent of Europe».

FRANCIS NOEL - BAKER, MP. for Swindon - The Manchester Guardian - October 2, 1954.

5. The island's small Turkish minority will enjoy the same treatment.

The Turkish minority is fairly small, being about 17.8% of the population. It is very undemocratic to argue the 17.8% of the population should be able to veto what the 80% of the population want to do.

MR. JOHN PARKER, MP. for Dagenham, House of Commons - July 23, 1954.

And would the rights of the 17.9% be in any danger if Cyprus were joined to Greece? I was with Fridtjof Nansen in Constantinople in 1922 when he first proposed the exchange of Greek and Turkish population which the League of Nations carried out. Within three days there came a deputation from the half-million Turks who then lived in Greece. They begged him not to turn them out of Greece. «We've lived there for centuries», they said, «in peace and friendship with the Greeks: we've just had ten years of war between Greece and Turkey and the grave crisis of the Greek exodus from Asia-Minor. Yet no Turk has suffered in any way; the Greeks have treated us with justice, generosity and friendship until to-day. «I have never believed since then that the Turks in Cyprus had anything to fear».

Article by PHILIP NOEL - BAKER, MP. for Derby South, former Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, Minister of State in the Foreign Office etc. - THE DERBY EVENING TELEGRAPH, August 29, 1954.

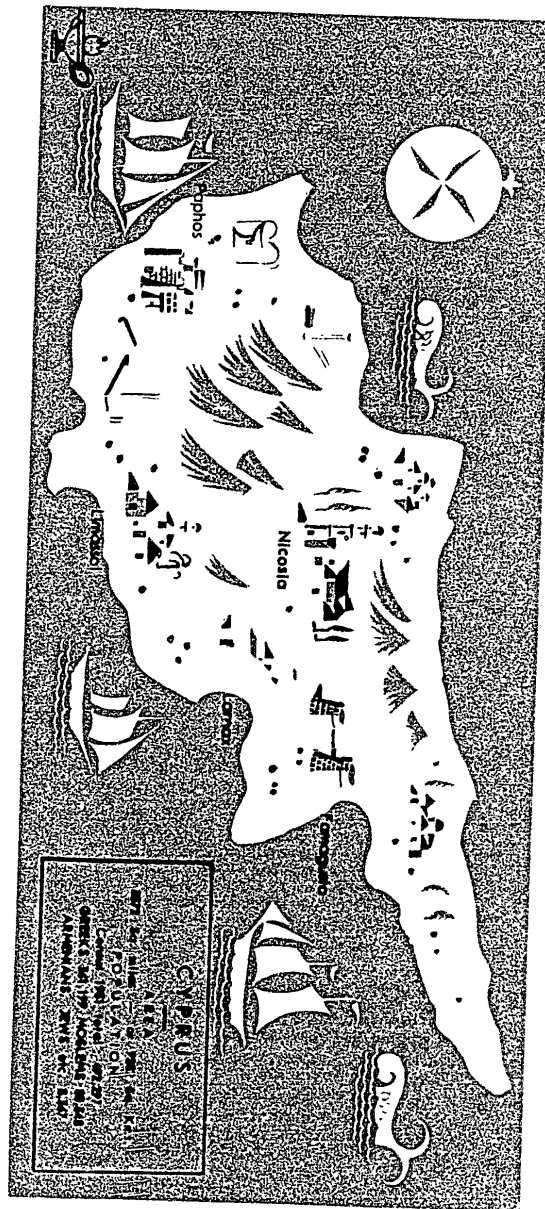
The Turkish minority in Greece has never complained about its treatment there...»

THE OBSERVER, September 26, 1954.



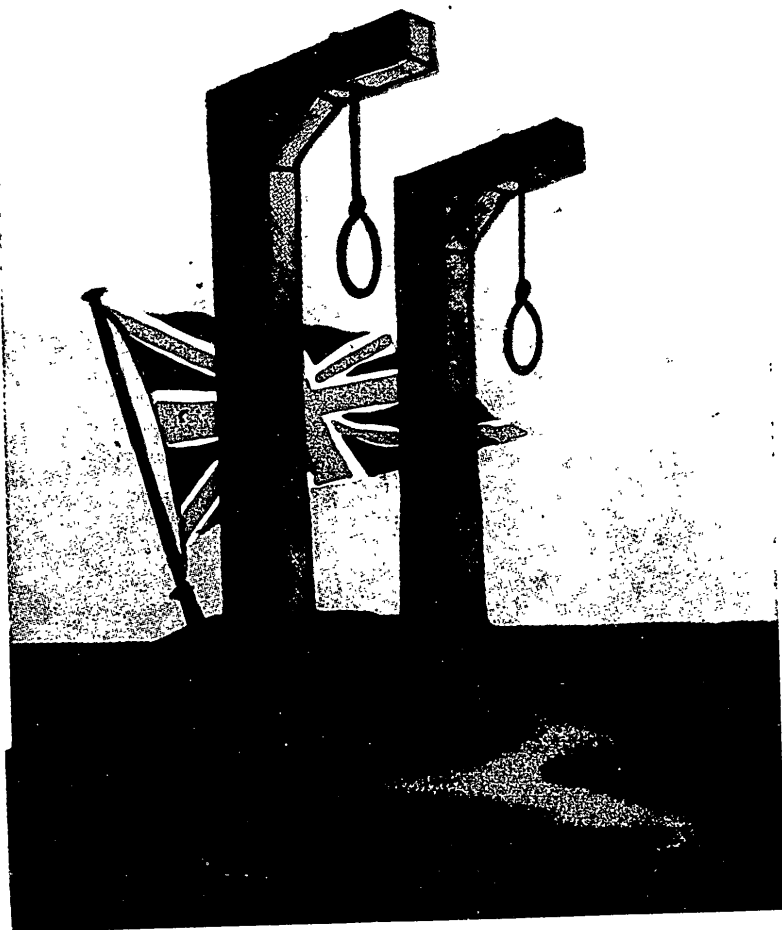
The "Civilizing" measures reminding of Nazi cruelties.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF HELLENIC STUDIES,
34, UNIVERSITY AVE. ATHENS - GREECE.



7

ONE
OF THE GREATEST CRIMES
OF THIS CENTURY



ONE OF THE GREATEST CRIMES
OF THIS CENTURY

Greece has had many heroes and national martyrs in every period of her history, in every struggle. Cyprus, too, that outpost of Hellenism at the extremity of the Eastern Mediterranean, has her heroes today. In the fields and the mountains. In towns and in villages. Heroes whose moral stature is a defiance and a menace to the haughty and powerful oppressor. Heroes who demolish the oppressor's arrogance, subdue his stubbornness, expose his duplicity. Heroes and national martyrs who adorn the pages of Greek History, who will stimulate and inspire the future generations and become shining examples of heroism and self-abnegation for the whole world. Fighters who know how to fight and how to die for liberty; who are not scared of their frenzied foes, nor of the fearful faces of their marshals. They stand proud, resolute. And when at the end they fall, their name becomes a legend, their deeds feats of daring, their voice a command, their message resounds till the farthest end of the earth.

Such a hero, such a national martyr is MICHAEL, KARAOLIS. A portentous day for the British is the 10th of May. A black page in English History. A page of treason for the ideals of elementary Justice and Liberty. A page that blood-stained Imperialism of London will record in its history. A page exposing the honesty of the powerful of the Earth, because no criminals, no vil-

lains are being put to death, but heroes of freedom and fighters of high ideals. On the gallows are being executed valiant descendants of a People who has always fought for its freedom and the freedom of the whole world.

The bells were tolled all over Cyprus on May 10, 1956, conveying through their doleful tolling the message of the abominable act for which Britain and the whole Free World will feel ashamed. A cry was heard from the Free Besieged of the indomitable Island. A cry to Liberty « Oh! Liberty! .. Liberty!... What crimes are being committed in your name. Oh! Liberty!.... Oh! Justice!.... What decadence in consciences!...»

May 10th 1956. In Cyprus, the Island of heroes, in the sunlight, under the blessings of the Western Free World and the wishes of the sanguinary Mau Mau executioner, and of liberal(!) Britain there, in the precincts of a mediaeval prison, the real Justice lies, murdered, in two coffins. When the coffins were opened, one could still feel the warm young bodies of the heroes KARAOLIS and DIMITRIOU. Two bodies that have died by hanging, alas! With the rope round their necks and, who knows, after what a long agony of writhing on the gallows.

Whilst all Greek homes in Cyprus shut their doors and opened their windows for hosting the flag of Liberty, the proud and glorious flag of Indomitable Greece, the Executioner of Liberty, tormented by his conscience, never for a moment felt quiet. He issued announcements informing cynically the world that he had simply executed, with good reason, two villains, two murderers! He knew, however, that both were not guilty.

There was no question of execution in the case of DIMITRIOU for no one was ever sentenced to death for wounding someone who had subsequently recovered.

As regards KARAOLIS, no incriminating proof whatsoever was found. The Court based its verdict on the evidence of false witnesses, two Turks, whom the British helped to flee to Turkey after their false and contradictory evidence. All the Cypriots knew that Karaolis was innocent. The British also knew it. They knew that he was perfectly innocent for the murder of Traitor Poulis, an Intelligence Service organ. This is also proved from the fact that they did not execute him at once, but tried up to the last minute, by their wicked and infamous means, to put him before the perplexing dilemma: either reveal the names of the patriot fighters or die on the gallows.

We denounce before the whole world that the British hanged KARAOLIS although they knew that he was not guilty!

The dishonest psychological means that the British used for extracting confessions from Karaolis cannot be described. Further to what has already been denounced and confirmed by the British, that in the last days prior to the hanging.. British soldiers just for sport put up with characteristic cruelty and cynicism a noose outside the convicts' cells, they took the moribunds to see their graves, freshly dug, and the gallows. This is one of the many tokens of civilization of the civilized and liberal (!) British, for whom the Greeks have hungered, have been tortured, hanged, shot, crucified by the Nazi hordes in 1941-1944!

A further evidence that the British considered KARAOLIS innocent is the fact that they hanged him after DIMITRIOU in order to force him, even at the last moment, to make confessions. As it was disclosed by the priest Antonios Erotokritos, the sole Cypriot who saw them last when he opened the coffins and uncovered their faces, KARAOLIS' body was warmer than that of DIMITRIOU.

This priest had been called to take the confession of, and minister the holy communion to, the two moribunds. But, even whilst the confession was taken, two British, in civil clothes, stood there, ready to distort the heroes' last words for the dark aims of British Imperialism.

Thus, Harding's organs have violated the very elementary human rights and they prohibited the farewell visit of their closest relatives, even of their mothers, as KARAOLIS so bitterly and poignantly revealed in his last letter. Before mounting the scaffold, the hero of Cypriot Liberty addressed the following letter to his uncle, Mr. Damianos Kamenos:

CENTRAL PRISONS OF NICOSIA, 9th May 1956.

Mr. Damianos Kamenos
6 Kaduou Street
Nicosia.

My dear Uncle,

I am writing to you from the cell of my prison after all who may visit have left us, without having had time to take a farewell of them, and now it is for all-conquering Time to roll on for a few more hours in anticipation of the end.

In absolute peace of mind I am sending you my last adieu, without, however, concealing my bitterness for having been deprived of the farewell visit of, at least, my closest relatives. I hope that all will keep calm and that courage will not be in want. It would be an actual satisfaction for me if all, and especially my Mother, would manage to avoid lamenting and bewailing for me. You should not feel sorry for me; I don't see why I should be so much lamented, and, as long as I don't see the reason for weeping over me, then, my people too should not be crying for me. What I feel worried about is that I have not managed to become what I wanted, for the



Michael Karaolis Andr Dimitriou
Both executed by the British at Nicosia on May 10 1950



Karaolis is led out of the Court. He is peaceful because he is innocent. But his guards' consciences are heavy. One of the policemen is covering his face.

sake of my parents as well as for my brother and sisters. But, be it so, may the Lord be for them and for all of you a Helper and Defender, a mighty Protector and a merciful Father. Comfort my Mother and tell her that my last and only wish is for her not to lament and bewail over me, nor let her grief poison her heart. The same applies to the other relatives. To my brother Andrew I have written a farewell letter. To you I express my deep-felt thanks and my everlasting gratitude for your paternal concern and your guardianship during the time I was attending Elementary Education schools.

For a last time I clasp in my arms (even mentally) my dear Father and my good Mother and send them sweet farewell kisses. I know how profound their grief is, but they should have courage, and the Great Comforter of all sufferers will soothe their hearts with the balm of comfort.

I kiss my afflicted sisters with emotion and love, and wish them every possible happiness! I call upon them the divine Protection and Grace. My last good-bye kiss and warm wishes to all relatives. A warm greeting to all friends and neighbors with whom I have spent my youthful years.

My thanks to my solicitors who have striven so hard for my defense (including, of course, Messrs. Pritt and Grant).

Neither time nor space permit me to express all thoughts and sentiments of love I am feeling now. Neither courage nor hope have abandoned us, and Peace of Mind is very high.

A warmest good-bye kiss I am sending to all my dear relatives and friends, and I am asking all to forgive the wrongs I have done to them, as I am forgiving all who have wronged me.

Good-bye, and may the Lord grant you all every happiness.

I kiss you warmly again.
Michael

In reading this letter who is not stirred by the greatness of this hero's soul? Is it possible for such a soul being criminal? Does one ever write of "perfect peace of mind," if one has not a profound consciousness of innocence? Who does not feel that he has before him a great

and brave Christian soul? His words, "I am asking all to forgive the wrongs I have done to them" and "I forgive all who have wronged me," don't remind one of our Saviour's words: "Father, forgive them..."?

The British will never convince us by their lies; not only us but also any sensible person, and, whatever they say, there is no excuse for their crime.... It is a disgrace of the worst kind.

In his letter KARAOLIS writes nothing about his Country and the Struggle. Is it difficult to guess the reason why?

An essential condition must have been put to him: "If you want your letter to reach your Uncle, you won't write anything about those things." Could he do otherwise?

The hero's soul, however, found the means to do it, and Harding's murderers never detected it. A booklet, the New Testament, which reached his relatives, shows us his Greek soul. An immense and deep longing for Liberty. A bitter complaint and a lasting aversion against the barbarian British who are torturing the Cypriot people:

«The earth that endured so much.... Cyprus that has bent under the load of yoke, and the chains of slavery opening wounds everywhere.»

In a few verses, written inside the New Testament, he pours out from the depth of his heart all his griefs and all he has visualized about his Country. In this sacred book, which he had as a companion in his hours of solitude in the prison's cell, he wrote his verses. This book has encouraged and strengthened him, and filled his soul with faith and hope, so that he kept chanting doxologies which in the stillness of the night resounded all over the assemblage of the prisons. How tragic! For this small New Tes-

tament to become KARAOLIS' greatest and sterner accuser against the British, at a moment when they boast that it is to the Bible that they owe their country's greatness!

Gauleiter Harding will leave from Cyprus. And he will go away disgraced, like a common criminal. For his crime was heinous. Abominable. Unprecedented in the History of crimes. The sanguinary Marshal did not hang the two heroes of Cyprus. He hanged his country's justice, the honor and the reputation of his country. He irretrievably dishonored the good name of great British men. Harding and his associates tremble before History, which will mark them in black colors. And Divine Justice will judge and condemn them.....

10th May 1956. KARAOLIS and DIMITRIOU were hanged. But they have not died. They live for ever in the souls of all Greeks. The Free World kneels before them. Their heroic blood has watered the tree of Cypriot Liberty once again. The wreath of laurel crowns their proud foreheads.

In Digenis' Country noble souls have not become extinct. Hope and faith have grown to giant stature. They have taken root and are sprouting forth, they are growing strong..... The heroic and immortal Greek soul, even today, is giving lessons to the whole Free World with its triumphant battle cry:

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

7

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«NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF CYPRUS»
Aghias Philotheis 19 ● P. O. B. 596 ● ATHENS · GREECE

7

UNCLASSIFIED

THE CYPRUS QUESTION

A BRIEF EXPOSITION

BY

SPYROS A. KYPRIANOU

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

JOURNALIST

U. K. HON. SECRETARY

TO THE ETHNARCHY OF CYPRUS

LONDON

JULY 1956

UNCLASSIFIED

« We invite but we do not compel the peoples to
stay in the British Commonwealth »

ATTLEE

« The desire of the people of Cyprus for Union with
Greece is an example of the patriotic devotion which
so nobly characterises the Greek Nation »

CHURCHILL

INTRODUCTION

Though the Historical background of Cyprus may be necessary to understand fully the nature of the Cypriot movement for self-determination, yet the Cyprus Question in its basis is not one of History but it is one of Morality and Justice. This is the right answer to those who put forward the argument that Cypriots are not Greeks or that «Cyprus has never been Greek». The Cyprus Question, as it stands to-day, is whether a civilised and historic people has the right to determine its own future. And who has the right to deny it to them? No argument can stand up against the principle of self-determination, this internationally recognised and accepted right forming the basis of United Nations' policy.

We shall try in this pamphlet to enumerate the most important developments of the Cyprus Question since 1878 as well as the main arguments of the British Government against the Cyprus case and our replies to them.

There are excellent and detailed pamphlets on Cyprus for those who want to study the problem in detail, whereas this pamphlet is intended for those who have the desire to acquaint themselves with the basic points underlying the Cyprus issue.

THE CYPRUS QUESTION

Britain took over Cyprus from Turkey in 1878 as a result of a deal between the Turkish Sultan and Disraeli on behalf of the British Government. This deal, termed «the Convention of 1878» was called by Disraeli himself, as many in Britain confirm, of course triumphantly, «a thief's deal». According to this convention Britain «hired» Cyprus from Turkey and in exchange the former agreed to come into Turkey's assistance in case the latter was attacked by Russia. Another term of the deal was that Britain should pay to Turkey yearly the sum of approximately £ 92 000. Strangely enough this money had to be paid by the Cypriots themselves as a sort of tax. It should be noted that although the money were collected from the Cypriots for some years not a single penny was ever paid to Turkey.

This transfer of control in Cyprus was hailed by the Cypriots, who believed in the traditional liberalism of Britain. Characteristic was the address of the then Archbishop of Cyprus Sofronius who when welcoming the first British Commissioner of the island expressed on behalf of his people the wish that British rule in Cyprus «would prove to be the golden bridge» which «ultimately but soon will unite Cyprus with Greece.»

The Convention of 1878 was broken when Turkey participated with the Germans during the first World War. (1914-1918). Turkey abandoned all rights over Cyprus by the Lausanne Treaty (1923). It is true, that this Treaty was signed by Greece too, thus both Greece and Turkey recognised Britain as the legal owner of Cyprus. But it is equally indisputable that no Cypriot signed the Lausanne or any other similar treaty. And this is the gist of the whole problem. For years Cyprus has been the subject of many deals, transfers and agreements without its inhabitants

being asked or considered at all. This is exactly what the Cypriots are trying to put an end to.

In 1915 Greece was offered Cyprus on the condition that she should enter the War immediately against the Germans. Greece was unable at that time to fulfill this condition and the offer had lapsed in spite of the fact that Greece entered the War a little later on the side of the Allies.

In 1925 Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony of the British Empire.

Since 1925 several delegations went to Britain to remind the British Government of the desire of the people of Cyprus to be united with Greece. Several petitions were sent to the same effect. Several direct and indirect promises were given on many occasions by British Statesmen such as William Gladstone, Lloyd-George, Ramsey MacDonald, Winston Churchill etc.

In the meantime, however, the British Authorities in Cyprus began to follow a new policy consisting of new illiberal measures; the composition of the Cypriot Assembly was a sufficient proof of the real intentions of the British Government. The rather uneasy situation culminated in the uprising of 1931, as a result of which was the dissolution of the Cyprus Assembly, the annulment of the Constitution, the deportation of the Cypriot prelates and the imposition of stricter dictatorial measures on the people of Cyprus. We shall not indulge into the details of that era, because though important belongs to the past.

The second World War found the Cypriots, as well as the rest of the Greeks, fighting on the side of the Allies. Many of them died for what they believed to be their duty in the defence of liberty. British Statesmen, including Winston Churchill, who visited the island, declared to the Cypriots. « This is your chance, people of Cyprus, to fight for Greece and Liberty ». Similar words were used on placards, posted above the recruiting centres. Cypriots by thousands enlisted in the British Army accepting the above words as a real promise that after the War was over and Nazism defeated their dream would be realised and that

Britain would repeat in the case of Cyprus the gesture she made in the case of the Ionian Islands. Alas, their sacrifice was in vain! They again were deceived.

In 1947 a Cypriot delegation visited Britain to stress the Cypriot desire for Union with Greece, but their requests were left without any response on the part of those responsible.

When the people of Cyprus saw that a British gesture was impossible, because of the obvious intentions of the British Government, decided to seek justice and attain their freedom through the principle of self-determination, in the defence of which so many thousands shed their blood during the two World Wars. So in January 1950, the Ethnarchy of Cyprus (National Council) asked the British Authorities to hold a plebiscite on the future of Cyprus in accordance with the principle of self-determination, contained in the United Nations Charter to which Britain is among the first signatories. The Authorities of the island refused and the Ethnarchy took upon themselves the task of holding it, the result of which was 96 o/o of the Greek population of Cyprus voting for Union with Greece. This plebiscite was called by Foreign Correspondants, who confirmed its genuineness, « a census of the Greeks in Cyprus.»

A new delegation visited Athens, London and New York to deposit the volumes of the plebiscite with the Greek and British Governments as well as with the Secretariat of the United Nations; the British Government refused to accept the volumes.

The people of Cyprus continued their peaceful struggle. Peaceful demonstrations and petitions reminding the British Government that the Cyprus Question was open awaiting solution and not « closed » as the latter maintained. They also reminded them of what Gladstone said,* of what Lloyd-George** on several

* « I subjoin the satisfaction, I should feel... to see the Hellenic island of Cyprus in organic union with their brethren of the Kingdom of Greece ».

** Once Lloyd-George said to Pres. Wilson : « My intention is to gi-

occasions said and of what Winston Churchill emphasised when in 1907 visited Cyprus as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He then said: « It is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother country as ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished..... »

But unfortunately it was during Sir Winston Churchill's last days in office that the Cyprus Question entered a new and most regrettable stage when the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs Mr. Henry Hopkinson said in the House of Commons (23/7/54) that Cyprus, because of strategic and other considerations, is included among those territories that can « never » attain full independence. This statement unavoidably became the borderline between a peaceful and a violent movement and it had in Cyprus the expected reaction. Strikes and demonstrations followed one another. It was the beginning of a further worsening in Anglo-Cypriot relations. Having in mind the present situation in Cyprus, it should be noted at this stage that the first bullet had not come out of a Cypriot gun. Two young Cypriots were killed and others wounded by British bullets before the Cypriots struck. The situation was deteriorating daily and it was obvious that unless a solution, satisfying the Cypriot aspirations, was found soon, we were to reach a tragic point.

Later in 1954, the Greek Government, sponsoring the Cypriot demand for self-determination, raised the Cyprus Question before the United Nations. After a short debate the General Assembly of the United Nations decided not to discuss further the problem of Cyprus « for the time being » because it was thought that the problem could be solved in a friendly way outside the international forum. Though this was not the desirable result, however, the mere inscription of the item on the agenda of the Uni-

ve Cyprus to Greece. As for Turkey, I have no sympathy for a country which has turned Cyprus into a desert ».

(PARIS - 13/5/1919)

ted Nations overruled the British argument that Cyprus was a domestic affair and therefore outside the scope of United Nations' jurisdiction.

In August 1955, the British Government, obviously acting upon pressure, decided to hold a Tripartite Conference, in London, on Cyprus. Greece and Turkey were invited to participate. That conference failed for two reasons, firstly because of the presence of the Turks and secondly because of the absence of the Cypriots. As we saw above, Turkey abandoned all rights over Cyprus by the Lausanne Treaty and by bringing her in as an interested party the British Government sought to bring in a new element, thus complicating the issue. And we also know the result of Turkish participation, namely the barbaric orgy of the Turkish mob against the Greek minority in Turkey.

During the Tripartite Conference Mr. Macmillan (then British Foreign Secretary) changed Mr. Hopkinson's « never » into « not in the foreseeable future ». Mr. Macmillan a little later in the House of Commons said that « sometime » self-determination will be applied to Cyprus.

In the meantime the situation in Cyprus deteriorated badly. A considerable section of Cypriots, who lost their patience, resorted to violence* while the British Authorities declared a State of Emergency and imposed a series of repressive measures.

Later in 1955 Greece raised once more the Cyprus Question before the United Nations, but again the issue was shelved because it was thought that friendly negotiations would have been the ideal means of solving the problem.

In November 1955 the British Government opened bilateral negotiations between the Archbishop and Ethnarch of Cyprus Mgr. Makarios and the new Governor of Cyprus Sir John Har-

*« It is the primary right of men to die and kill for the land they live in and to punish with exceptional severity those of their compatriots who have warmed their hands at the invader's hearth ».

WINSTON CHURCHILL

(Vol. I, p. 23-« History of the English-speaking peoples »)

ding. In a tense atmosphere negotiations continued for some months. Hopes for a solution mounted when the negotiations reached their climax in February 1953 and when in that month information leaked out indicating that a solution was near. But suddenly the negotiations broke down in spite of the concessions made by the Archbishop. Many, however, expected a failure from the start because they rightly believed that if in fact the British Government wanted a solution why did they send a Marshall to negotiate and not a Politician?

In March 1956, a few days after the negotiations, Sir John Harding arrested Archbishop Makarios and exiled him to the Seychelles islands with the Bishop of Kyrenia, the Rev. Papastavros Papagathaggelou and Mr. Ioannides, Secretary to the Bishop of Kyrenia. The Governor, supported by Whitehall, took this action in the belief that it would bring Cyprus back to normal life. But the result was the opposite from the intended. The situation deteriorated further and Cypriots reacted violently, as it was natural to do, when they saw their religious and national leader arrested simply because he disagreed with the Governor.

The British Government in trying to justify their blunder accused the Archbishop of being dishonest, of being a «terrorist» etc yet they were negotiating with him a few days earlier. Furthermore, they did not give him the chance to defend himself, thus violating one of the basic principles of British Law.

The negotiations broke down on three points:

- (i) The British Government refused to guarantee in advance that the Greeks of Cyprus, forming the 82% of the whole population of the island, would have the majority in the elected Cypriot Assembly foreseen by the Constitution. The Archbishop insisted on this.
- (ii) The British Government maintained that the Governor should have control of internal security for as long as he thought necessary. The Archbishop, on the other hand, agreed: «internal security to remain with the Gover-

nor for either a limited period of time or until law and order is restored ».

(iii) There was disagreement on the Question of Amnesty. But how the British Government could expect law and order to be restored without a generous amnesty?

That only the above were the three stumbling-blocks indicate that the Archbishop made great and indeed risky concessions by not insisting on a definite date for the application of self-determination. He accepted self government, but of course he demanded a guarantee as to (i) (above), because without that the constitution would have been anything but liberal and democratic. Good will on the part of the British Government was absent otherwise differences on the above three points would have disappeared easily.

After the exile of the Archbishop, the British Authorities in Cyprus increased their repressive and dictatorial measures to the extent that conditions in Cyprus are being described by objective observers as unbearable. Hundreds of Cypriots were added to those already detained in concentration camps without trial or charge; children are being caned; patriots executed; houses raided; innocent people are being evicted from their houses and shops, simply because they had no information to give to the authorities; collective fines are being imposed on whole villages and towns aiming at destroying the economic life; thousands of trees are being cut. Indeed actions reminiscent of the Middle Ages and of Nazis methods. Unbearable tortures are being carried out; graves are being destroyed, forests are being burned, holy places sacrilegious.

Such actions are not worthy of the British name and only do harm to British prestige all over the World. But the most important is that these measures and methods will have the opposite from the intended result. Hostility grows daily, bitterness mounts.

The British Government insists that as soon as law and order prevail once more in the island then moderate elements will

come forward to negotiate with them. No such chance exists. All responsible Cypriots declared that they are not willing to negotiate. The only leader is Archbishop Makarios. He was elected by the whole of the Greek people of Cyprus and therefore by both right and tradition he is the only one entitled to negotiate the future of Cyprus on behalf of his people. And even if we accept the unacceptable, namely that « someone », other than the Archbishop, might come forward to negotiate, then that « someone » would be a traitor in the Cypriot eyes and an irresponsible figure before the world.

From time to time several arguments were used by British Governments and their organs in trying to justify their policy. But now only two arguments are still being used, the rest seem to have been abandoned both officially and unofficially. The two arguments are (i) the Turkish position and (ii) the Strategic importance of Cyprus.

(i) The Turkish position. The Turkish element is still being used in its two aspects as an argument against the self-determination of Cyprus.

Firstly it is said that Turkey opposes any change in the sovereignty of the island and therefore self-determination. But Turkey abandoned all rights over Cyprus by the Lausanne Treaty (1923) and furthermore any action on the part of Turkey would be an aggressive act violating the United Nations' Charter. This argument was used to such an extent by Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister (House of Commons, 12/7/1955), that many were left with the impression that the only obstacle to Cyprus having self-determination was the Turkish objection. Secondly the existence in Cyprus of a Turkish minority (17,200) is also being used as an argument against self-determination, because, they say, Turks in Cyprus want British Rule to continue. But the Turks in Cyprus are only a minority and however strongly they oppose

self-determination, democracy dictates that their will cannot override the wishes of the vast majority.

It is also said that Turkey as well as some British circles «fear» the safety of the Turkish minority in Cyprus in case self-determination results into Union with Greece. Events prove them wrong. The anti-Greek orgy in Turkey, in September 1955, proves that it is not in Greece but somewhere else that minorities are in danger. Nothing at any time happened in Greece, where there are Turkish minorities living happily with full rights, justifying that fear. Furthermore, both the Greek Government and the Archbishop on behalf of the Greeks in Cyprus, are quite willing to give any international guarantees for the safety of the Turkish minority and for safeguarding their vested rights.

The subsidiary to the above argument, that Cyprus is nearer to Turkey than it is to Greece should not be taken seriously because it would only suffice to mention that there are other Greek islands much nearer to Turkey than Cyprus is.

(ii) The Strategic importance of Cyprus. Though disputed, the «strategic importance» of Cyprus is being used as an argument against the Cypriot case. But

Firstly there are no effective bases in Cyprus under the present conditions.

Secondly in case self-determination results into Union with Greece the question of bases could be settled with the Greek Government. This could be done in advance.

Thirdly in case self-determination proves, as some in Britain maintain, that the Cypriots want to remain within the British Commonwealth, then no question of bases arises.

Finally it is highly ironical to say that Britain needs bases in Cyprus in the defence of freedom while Cyprus itself is not free. How can Britain regard herself a defender of freedom when she sacrifices freedom itself at the altar

of strategic expediency?

After this short exposition of the Cyprus Issue there is only one question to be asked: What should be done?

There is only one way of solving the problem which is a political and not a military one. To free Archbishop Makarios and negotiate with him with good will and understanding on the basis of self-determination. Sooner or later this is what will happen. Why then not now? The sooner the better in Britain's own well-meant interests. The British Government by acting now on these lines will save further unnecessary bloodshed, hatred and hostility.

We take this opportunity to remind the British Government and especially those responsible for its policy on Cyprus that it does not entail any loss of face or pride, even if they have to climb down, in doing what is right, namely justice.

7

ISSUED BY THE LONDON OFFICE OF THE ETHNARCHY OF CYPRUS
21 FITZROY SQUARE LONDON W. I.
Printed by Ellades Press Akominatu 69 Athens - Greece

UNCLASSIFIED

"Are you a Mother you too?,"



UNCLASSIFIED

....."Have you got any children?"



These children of ours (to whom do you think your own child looks like?) are furiously beaten by the Praetorians of Harding, with the butt-ends of their guns, with kicks etc .. The youngsters are crying because they know the martyr they will be going through... But the grown-ups are patient, calm and serene. They have faith in God and believe in the effect of the prayers and the affection of the mothers all the world over. .



This young man is led into the camp. Enraged soldiers are waiting for him in there. After undressing him, they will torture his naked, tender body; he shall be flogged with their hard whip. Afterwards, his best chance is to be sent home for nursing .

TO THE MOTHERS ALL OVER THE WORLD

We, the afflicted Mothers of Cyprus, address ourselves to you, who are a free and a happy Mother.

Whether your children are already grown-ups, or you are watching them grow up, all the same you can share our torture.

In agony we wake up each morning wondering whether our boys will come back home in the evening.. And, when locking the street-door every night, with wild heart-beating we wonder whether all of us will be safe at dawn. And, believe us, our fears are far from being imaginary. This very moment lot of mothers stand in front of the iron bars of the prisons—and there are prisons everywhere in Cyprus by now—watching from afar their beloved sons who are thrown into prison only because they committed the crime to value Freedom more than youth!

There are also many mothers who weep over the grave of their beloved children, while others have no tomb nor coffin to bewail, because the British Tyrant who has hung their young boys, had buried in a hurry their tortured bodies unshrowded and deprived of tears, garlands, funeral songs, and scents...

But apart from those whom we saw laying in their coffins, there are also the alive ones to weep over. These are the little ones, upon whom the punishment of whipping is inflicted and who are sent home blackened, swollen, crippled, unrecognizable owing to the cruel whipping.

Maybe you do not know exactly what whipping means. And you are right. Many centuries have gone by since all the civilized peoples have abolished this inhuman sort of punishment. But the British have not forgotten it, and they apply it in Cyprus, the beautiful island which has a very ancient civilization. The punishment of whipping is inflicted upon our children every time they dare shout claiming for their country's Freedom. And they are whipped as hard by the Island's Sovereign Harding, as, centuries before, Some One Else had been whipped by another sovereign.... Jesus by Pontius Pilate, Sovereign of Judea! The Praetorians of Harding are torturing our boys in the same way the hard and cruel Roman soldiers did: after undressing them, they furiously strike with their whip their naked, tender body.

You are a mother, consequently you can realize our tragedy. Each whipping on their frail body is a stab into our heart. A deep wrinkle on our forehead. A groan. A spot on our christian civilization.

We convey a heart-breaking cry to your maternal heart. Cruel soldiers whip our boys simply because they have committed the crime to cherish Freedom more than their own life. These sore boys we love as much as you love your own. And they are so alike curl-haired, slim and tall, full of health. They are the joy and the longing of the family. Look, they are exactly like your darling George, John, Dick...

Is it possible that you would not sympathize?... Is it possible that you would not help us?...

With unbearable pain and deep affliction we raise our voice, we all.

The Mothers of Cyprus.



This afflicted mother protests in vain against a sergeant of Harding; showing her crippled child she says:—«Look, you have beaten him cowardly till bleeding... laying unconscious now with his limbs gathered up on the ground»...

Fear and agony is reflected on the face of his school-fellows.

This little school-boy is taken by two cruel British soldiers to the place specially set up for the whipping. Reflected is on their face the fury and the hate against this unprotected child. God knows what is waiting for him in the gloomy basement where they take the boy to...





← What doesn't say the lamentation and anguish of the mother and sister of innocent Karaolis . Her darling Michael, her only son was hung by « liberal » Harding! She was not allowed to see her beloved child and kiss him on the forehead for the last time . Nor had she at least the consolation to bury his tortured body. The barbarous threw his body into a grave just like a beast's

With frenzy they trample this → young man, the... « brave » men of Harding.

But the youngster resists with all his strength. He refuses to follow them, as he knows pretty well what is waiting for him in the « Court of Justice » of Harding. Let the mothers of the world help him...



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The Mothers of Cyprus.



SUPPLEMENT No. 3

TO

THE CYPRUS GAZETTE No. 3891 OF 26TH NOVEMBER, 1955.
SUBSIDIARY LEGISLATION.

No. 730

BY THE GOVERNOR.

A PROCLAMATION

JOHN HARDING,
Governor

THE EMERGENCY POWERS ORDERS IN COUNCIL,
1939 AND 1952.

75 —(1) Subject to any special provisions contained in these Regulations, Offences and
any person who—

(2) Where a male person under the apparent age of eighteen years is convicted by any Court for any offence against these Regulations the Court may, if it thinks fit, sentence such person to be whipped. Such punishment may be in addition to or in lieu of any other punishment to which he may be liable. Whipping shall be with a light rod or cane or birch and the number of strokes shall be specified in the sentence and shall not exceed twelve under any one or more sentences passed in respect of the actual offences of which a person has been convicted at any one trial.

Made at Nicosia, this 26th day of November, 1955.

The above phototyped extract from the Cyprus Government Gazette, dated 26th November 1955, which speaks for itself, proves beyond any doubt that the British have put in force the barbarous and mediaeval punishment of whipping.

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Since the above mentioned «Measures» were applied in the Island, it has been ascertained that hundreds of Cypriot boys aged 12-17 have endured and are enduring the aforesaid punishment of «whipping»

Furthermore, we denounce to the civilized world the use of the so-called «Cat o' nine tails» i. e. a whip branching off into 9 slender lashes each one ending in a leaden knot!!

7

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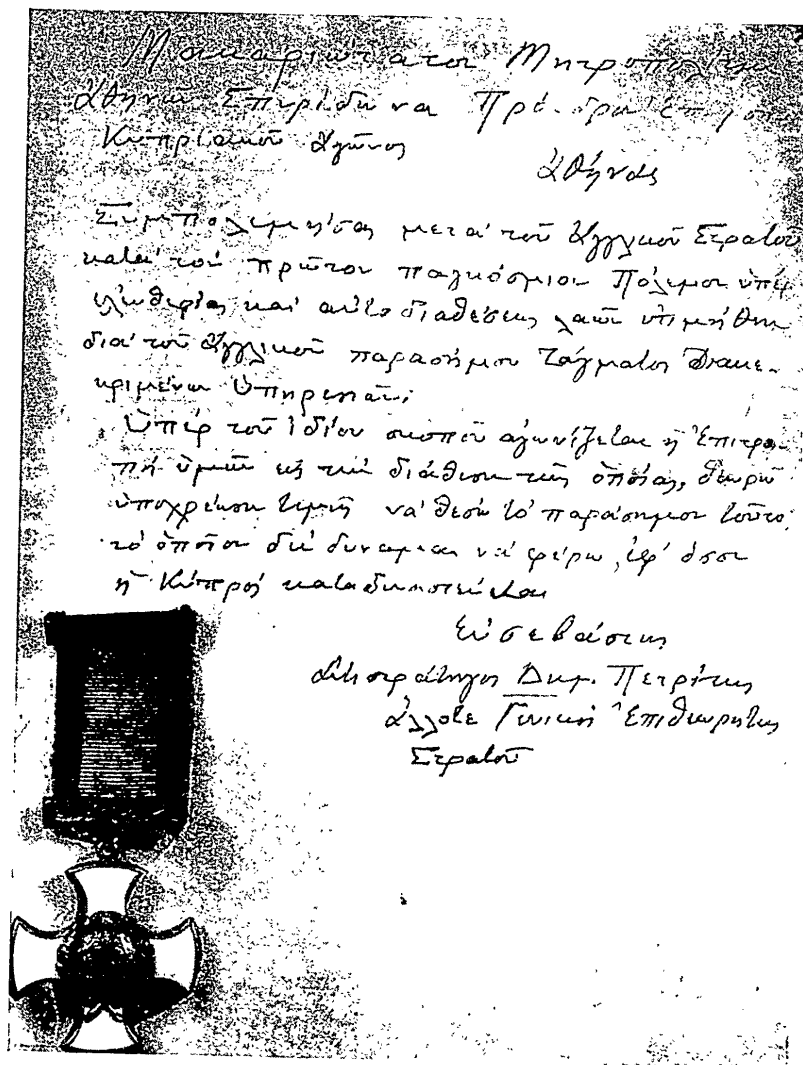
UNION OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE (1941-1944) PRESS

THOSE
WHO PRAISED US IN THE PAST
AND NOW ACCUSE US

ATHENS

1956

UNCLASSIFIED



Lt. General Dem Petrits former Inspector General of the Greek Army, having fought with the British during World War I and having received the D.S.O from the British now returns it as he cannot bear this decoration while Cyprus is oppressed by the British.

As a duty to history and in order that the chivalrous and gallant British People be reminded of their old faithful friends we set forth the following few lines.

It is a historical necessity to stress at the present moment these few facts because what has already happened and is now being perpetrated at the expense of the honour and dignity of the Greek People may weaken and finally shatter the fine edifice of Anglo - Hellenic friendship and alliance which has been established by their joint efforts for freedom. For this, we cannot be blamed. Because we have remained faithful to the solemn assurances made by giving our blood in sacrifice and as a libation that we will always fight on the side of justice and Liberty. And when we back our brethren in Cyprus in their struggle for freedom, we are only continuing our constant efforts and history. While the British are doing the reverse. They have not only ceased to assist us, but, on the contrary, they stab us in the back at a moment when we have taken on the cause of Righteousness. What do they do? Why do they insult us? Why do they sneer at the just cause of the Cypriots? Why do they, the champions of an «end to tyranny», oppress others? Why do the British abuse us, they who praised Greek Valour? Because this is so.

On November 9, 1940 that great statesman Churchill spoke of Greece and the Greeks : « It is not necessary to speak of many Nations today. There is, however, a small, heroic Nation, to which our thoughts are turned today, in sympathy and admiration. It is brave Greece and her troops who are defending today her Motherland's soil against the invaders. To them we are sending today from the heart of old London the loyal promise that in our agony, we shall do our best to help them in their struggle »

Some time later Mr Churchill again stated, in a cable sent when the Greek troops occupied Korytsa :

« We admire all this manifestation of the value of the Greeks against an enemy exceeding them in numbers and equipment. This reminds us of classical times. Long Live Greece! »

And when the times of extreme anxiety were over, and the fight of the free Peoples was crowned with success, Mr Churchill, as British Prime Mi-

nister, again stated in a speech made in the House of Commons, on May 28, 1944. «This country. . . Great Britain owes much to Greece. Among the several examples of heroism recorded during the present war, one will rarely find nobler acts than those carried out in Greece in defending the principles of Liberty.»

Mr Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, in a speech before the U.N. Security Council, in February 1946, said . «We would like to remind the world that from 1940 to 1941 Greece was our only fighting ally notwithstanding the enemy invasion. Let the world remember what everybody else was doing . . . » What did this unforgettable statesman mean when he said in his address «Let the world remember what everybody else was doing»? It is for the British to determine by themselves what was meant. Because we can only see what we do when our Freedom is at stake. When our Duty calls us to fight in the defence of Human Ideals.

Everything that has been said above has been set forth as we are in duty bound towards History which has been distorted lately. These same Greeks who are abused with insults at present are the very same Greeks towards whom the British People have expressed their admiration and unmitigated affection. They are the very same people who are not included among those regarding whom Bevin had said: «Let the world remember what everybody else was doing. . . ». They are not included, not just because they are called Greeks, but because they are the same Greeks, the loyal friends, regarding whom Compton Mackenzie wrote :

« . . And now, this pen, the ink of which got dry so many times, to find proper words to express the debt due to a small Nation of Heroes, will dedicate one or two sentences to express the realization of a dream, when the roar of the war is over . . . »

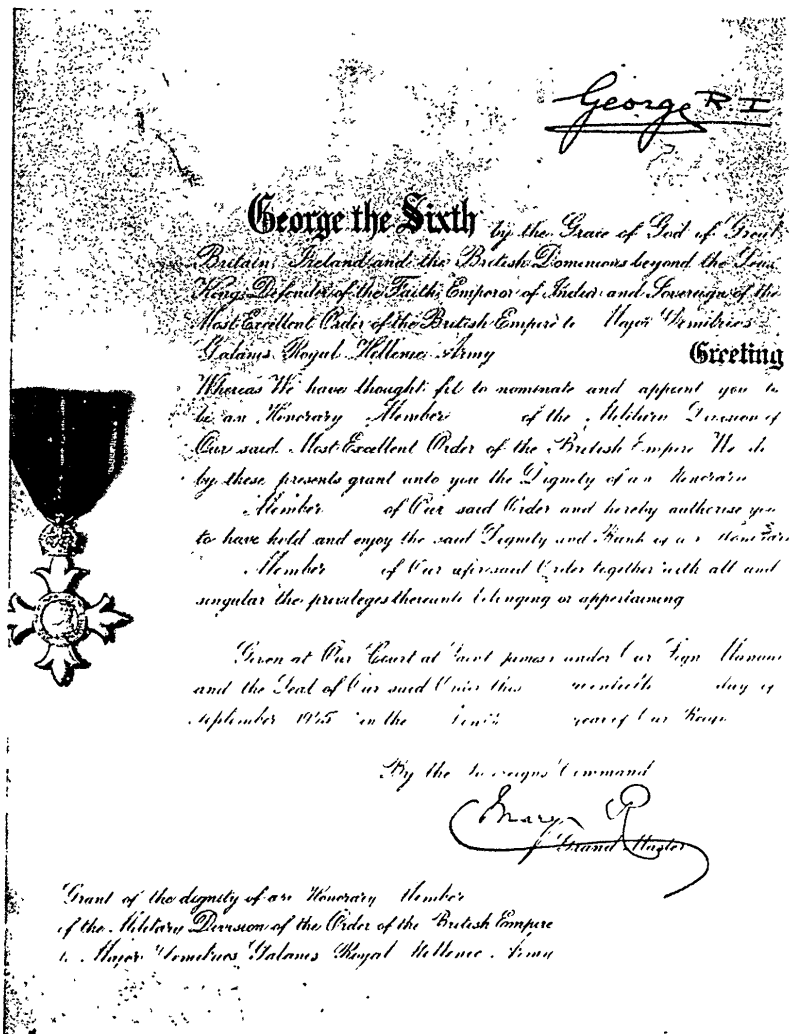
They are the same Greeks concerning whom the prominent British author complains that he cannot find words to express the debt owed by his country.

And yet this debt is so very simple. And can be paid of so easily. What easier thing is there than to render justice to your friends? What easier thing is there than to shake off the accusation of being a dynast of your friends and allies? It entails no sacrifice whatsoever. No struggle is required for this.

It is because of this that we have stressed above what we have set forth. It is needed as a reminder of historical facts. They assist our efforts to maintain the fine edifice of Anglo - Hellenic friendship which was cemented with blood . . . Founded on whole rivers of blood. And it is a pity that it should be destroyed by those, regarding whom Bevin was inviting the world to remember «what they were doing.»

UNION OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE (1941 - 1944) PRESS.
P. O. BOX. 596 ATHENS - GREECE

7



Major Dem Galanis, of the Hellenic Army, returns the decoration of the Order of the British Empire in protest for the behaviour of the present Government of the United Kingdom towards the Cypriots.

*This certificate is awarded to
Dionysios Haralambous
as a token of gratitude for and
appreciation of the help given to the
Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen of the
British Commonwealth of Nations,
which enabled them to escape from, or
avoid capture by the enemy.*

H.R. Alexander

*Field Marshal
Supreme Allied Commander,
Mediterranean Theatre*

1939-1945

Dionysios Haralambous returns the certificate awarded to him in gratitude for assisting men of the British Commonwealth in their fight for the ideals of freedom since the U.K. Government now follows a policy of oppression in Cyprus.



Aspasia Kakkavas returns the Patriot's Certificate signed by Field Marshal Alexander since it mentions that she served the cause of Liberty which the British themselves now ignore.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

MIDDLE EAST FORCES

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

This is to certify that *Philippos Cassios* has during
the period *April 1943 to October 1944* faithfully and
loyally served the allied Cause and thereby has contributed to the
liberation of EUROPE:

No.
Date

1/1/44
12/1/44

[Signature]
Commander in Chief

Philippos Cassios cannot keep a Certificate given to him for his services for the «Liberation of EUROPE» at a time when CYPRUS is kept enslaved.

7

ΑΘΗΝΑΙ
10-5-56

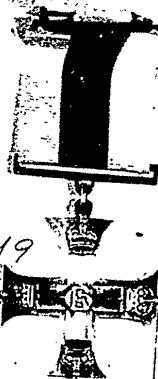
Προς

Την Πατριαν Επίσκοπον
Ενώσεως Κίτρων

Φιλοδελία 19

Ελευσίδα

Μαυροβούνια



Καρόλιος ὁ ἑλληνογενὴς ἐν μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ἑξέως
ἐν ἑσθίᾳ Νικητοῦ Καρόλιος ὁ μαρτυρῶν
ἐν ἑσθίᾳ ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἐν φονεῖν δολοφονία
ἐποχὴν ναύων ἐν πολεμικῇ διαρκείᾳ
μὲν ἀντιγράψας ἐν 1918 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξέτασιν

Ἐπιδόξω μὲν ἀγωνιστὰς σερβικῶν ἐν
οὐρανῷ ἐν τῇ ἐν φονεῖν καὶ ἐξόντων
ἐν Ἀγγίᾳ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐν τῇ ἐξέτασιν
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Αὐτῇ ἐπὶ

Ιωάννης Σεφθανάκος

Ζαφ. αὐτῇ ἐ. α

(Νίκης 17 Καλαμάς)

Brigadier John Stephanakos, Greek Army (R), returns the British Military Cross in disgust and anger after the unjustified execution of the Martyrs of Freedom KARAOLIS and DEMETRIOU «murdered in cold blood» as he states. What a pity that Anglo-Hellenic friendship had to have such an end.

UNCLASSIFIED



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Since the above mentioned «Measures» were applied in the Island, it has been ascertained that hundreds of Cypriot boys aged 12-17 have endured and are enduring the aforesaid punishment of «whipping»

Furthermore, we denounce to the civilized world the use of the so-called «Cat o' nine tails» i. e. a whip branching off into 9 slender lashes each one ending in a leaden knot!!

La Phototypie ci-dessus, publiée dans le Journal du Gouvernement de Chypre le 26 Novembre 1955, parle de soi-même et fait preuve—contre chaque doute—que les Anglais ont appliqué en Chypre la barbare punition du moyen-âge, cet-à-dire la punition de la flagellation.

Tous les jeunes gens qui semblent au-dessous de 18 ans, sont soumis à cette peine barbare du moyen-âge de la flagellation, et encore à toutes punitions prévues par le Décret d'Emergence, de la peine de mort par pendaison, à des peines de prison, jusqu' à des peines d' amendes. Ces peines leur sont imposées pour chaque acte patriotique, chaque effort, chaque mot, chaque message, ainsi que pour **chaque pensée** à la libération de leur patrie et à l'obtention des plus hauts idéals de la nature humaine, des idéals de la Liberté. Mais pour le Gouvernement Britannique, cela semble être un crime.

Il a été constaté que depuis que les «mesures» sus-dites ont été appliquées en Chypre, des centaines de jeunes Chypriotes de 12 à 17 ans, ont dû subir et subissent encore la peine de la flagellation

Nous devons aussi dénoncer au monde civilisé que les Anglais emploient le dit «cat o' nine tails», un fouet qui se compose de 9 fouets très fins avec des noeuds de plomb à leurs bouts.

«NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE UNION OF CYPRUS» P.O.B. 596 ATHENS - GREECE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
THE GREEK STUDENTS
ACCUSE...



A. Koronides who was tortured by British soldiers in Cyprus. «His nose-bone was smashed by the beatings».

TO THE STUDENTS OF THE WORLD

Fellow-Students,

What does Hitler's name mean to us? It is to us the synonym of hatred and brutality and the mentioning of it provokes a curse by all free peoples. The acts of his men in the countries he occupied during the Second World War were abominable and inhuman. Many countries suffered under Hitler's boot but mostly we, the Greeks. GESTAPO reminds us of brutal bestial behaviour.

Nowadays, however, there is a new GESTAPO, but this time it is the instrument of a «liberal» and «civilised» country. The measures taken by the British Intelligence Service — for this is the new GESTAPO in our days — in Cyprus, the people of which are fighting for their freedom, are similar to those used by Hitler's GESTAPO.

This has been proved by a British Court-Martial in Cyprus and published in most newspapers in Cyprus, Greece and abroad. What was proved at that trial reveal things and facts surpassing our imagination. Names which we shall mention, dates and places where Cypriots were brutally tortured, will give a picture of the tragedy Cyprus is going through today.

Two Captains of the British Army, O'Driscoll and Linzee were the torturers, and their victims were Cypriot prisoners, students aged between 17 - 20, labourers, etc., Some of them were L. Peonidis, Ch.



They pulled off his hair.

Kyriakides, P. Stylianou, Efthymiou, Chr. Constantinou, A. Koronides and others.

The last of them Koronides managed to escape from Cyprus. He came to Athens, where he gave an account of his tortures at a Press Conference, on April 16. What he said may be summed up as follows: He was arrested at his home in the village of Kako-petria, 38 miles away from Nicosia, early in the morning of January 2nd. After being exhaustively interrogated he was taken, in the afternoon of the same day, to an outpost, where he was tied up and left in the rain and snow from 8 p.m. till midnight. The next day he was taken to the Court and remanded in custody for 8 days for examination and finally taken at «Xeros» Camp. There, all prisoners were manhandled and beaten up by a British sergeant. Some time later they were driven to Captain O'Driscoll's office at Lefka. There, both Captains, O'Driscoll and Linzee, attempted to make him confess that he had participated in EOKA attacks, and that he was the guerilla leader under the nickname «Kitsos». Koronides denied the charge against him. The following day, Linzee tortured him for one and a half hour by pulling off his hair, beating him with a chain, and breaking five of his teeth. Then he had him tied on a plank and lifted above ground with his head hanging out of the plank.

Questioned by journalists, Koronides said that he knew three other Cypriots had also been tortured; these were: Lucas Peonides, student of the Pan-Cypriot Gymnasium, Charalampos Kyriakides, brother of the Bishop of Kyrenia Kyprianos and Chr. Constantinou. Koronides added that Kyriakides had been tied to the pole of a tent and left there for four days without food and water! «Then», Koronides continued, «Linzee and O'Driscoll returned at



They broke his teeth.

midnight, accompanied by an army doctor. Linzee put a metal band round my head and tightened it, until I fainted. When I recovered, I was alone with the guards and my mouth was still bleeding. Linzee returned, and this time he put my head into a metal drum which he kept beating with a piece of wood for quite a long time. My nerves collapsed».

Next day his torturers and a Major came to see him and, showing him a suit-case full of new pound-notes, tried to bribe him saying they would become his friends. Koronides replied he knew nothing. Next day, they staged an execution to make him speak. When he was finally released Koronides was forced to sign a statement to the effect that he had not been ill-treated by British soldiers.

Immediately after the publication of Koronides' press interview, the British Embassy in Athens issued a statement disputing only two of the tortures i.e. that of being beaten with a chain, and that of metal band being tightened round his head. Thus, the British Embassy confirms the tortures inflicted on Koronides and other Cypriots. As regards chain beating, denial seems hardly grounded since it was proved at the trial of the two Captains by the Court Martial in Cyprus on 4, 5, and 6 April, 1956, by the evidence given by Dr. Diomedes Isayas, who treated Koronides and the British Police-Inspector Reynolds. Here are extracts of the evidence given before the Court Martial in Cyprus: Police Inspector Reynolds said: «On January 12, Capt. O'Driscoll telephoned to me saying that Koronides would be sent to me in half an hour's time. So, I waited for him but no one appeared. Then I proceeded to «Aberdeen» Camp,

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where Koronides was imprisoned. As I approached the barracks, I heard slapping and Linzee shouting wildly: «Where are the caves? Who supplied food to the caves? Who goes to the caves?» In between the questions, more slapping went on. Two days later, I examined Koronides and saw his upper lip and one of his eyes swollen. He looked pale and very weak. His ears were bruised and black. He had excoriations caused by a chain. His body also showed cuts deep to the bones, also caused by a chain».

Dr. Isayas said to the Court-Martial: — «I treated Koronides on the 14th January. His face was severely injured. His left shoulder was bruised and had excoriations. His injuries were recently inflicted.»

Dr. Isayas was arrested on March 5th. «On March 9th», he continued, «I was taken to the barracks, where O'Driscoll was sitting. He spoke to me quite friendly! Then he asked me: «Do you remember the persons you treated on January 14? Are you sure they had been beaten with a chain?» — «Of course», I answered. Then O'Driscoll asked me again: «Do you remember well? Will you change your evidence?» — «No», I replied, «I can't. Besides, they have been treated by another doctor».

Both Captain O'Driscoll and Captain Linzee were found guilty and dismissed from the army...

Fellow-Students,

In the name of human rights, we ask you to protest. What would you do if this had taken place in your own country? How would you react if such tortu-

res had been inflicted on some of your fellow countrymen? The fact that you do not face such iniquities and wickednesses should make no difference to you. All of us must fight against violence and injustice. After all the sacrifices and the bloodshed for the ideals of FREEDOM, it is unbelievable that VIOLENCE, SLAVERY and OPPRESSION should continue.

Fellow-Students, raise your voice and help the Oppressed Students of Cyprus, who are fighting for the Liberation of their Country-CYPRUS.

*The Federation
of the Students' Boards
of Greece
45 Akadimias Str. Athens-Greece*

NOTE: The photos shown here were taken in Athens by Greek and foreign photoreporters four months after his tortures, and after a long treatment in «Evangelistos» Hospital in Athens. The bone of one of his hands is still broken, and his face still pale and weak.

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AN ARCHBISHOP
BEHIND BARBED WIRE

AN ARCHBISHOP BEHIND BARBED WIRE

A UNIQUE EXAMPLE

For some years now, dictatorial regimes have familiarized us with abductions, imprisonments, and even with the execution of clergy. The abduction, however, of the Archbishop of Cyprus Makarios is unique in the chronicles of the history of civilization for two reasons: First, because it was carried out by a State that wants to be considered democratic and proclaims that it struggles for the Liberty of Peoples, that it has committed itself internationally with Conventions and that it recognizes human rights, and, secondly, for the way it has been carried out.

The abduction was not ordered by any of so-called dictatorial regimes, but by the British Government. And what is still worse is that the majority of the House of Commons agreed with the British Government...

The manner in which the abduction was effected was no better. There was no judicial charge against the Archbishop of Cyprus, nor was the British Government able to make subsequently any accusation against him. Even under the Governor's Emergency Powers Orders Makarios could not be arrested, far less imprisoned or expelled. Conversely, the British Government was carrying out negotiations with him, some hours earlier, to find a solution of the Cyprus question. Furthermore Makarios, who is admitted by the British themselves of being a moderate Leader, had ceded several times so that a bearable agreement might be reached. *His only crime was that he wanted to remain honest*; that is to say, he did not accept to forsake in prisons and concentration camps his fellow citizens who had been sentenced for political offenses under the notorious Emergency Powers Orders, which are a real disgrace to our civilization. Another crime of the Archbishop was that he was concerned to safeguard the Democratic Liberties of the Cypriot People by asking that all these illiberal laws be repealed and that internal security should come to the hands of a Government to be elected democratically and freely by the Cypriot People.

There is something still worse in the way in which Makarios was abducted. The abduction was carried out without any

false sentence or a false accusation, but it was carried out in a manner reminiscent of gangsters' kidnappings. Whilst on his way to the aerodrome, the Archbishop was informed by the Governor of Cyprus that he would be granted every possible facility for his journey, allegedly for his personal safety. That was to take him off guard, for, as soon as he arrived there, instead of being taken to the aeroplane which was to leave soon for Greece, he was put forcibly into another plane which took him to the place of his exile, Mahe, an isolated islet in the Indian Ocean. As only contacts between the inhabitants and the outer world are the wireless, the telegraph and the rare and irregular mail. This contact, however, was forbidden to Makarios because, together with the other three Cypriots (1 bishop, 1 priest and 1 layman) who were arrested and coexiled like the Archbishop, they were all confined in a small country house surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by a strong garrison and police dogs. He is not permitted to listen to the radio, nor correspond freely, or receive any visitors. His letters and cables are censored.

WHO ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS IS

The Exiled at Mahe is not a rebel, not even a politician. While he was following higher studies at the University of Boston, in 1948, the people of a diocese of Cyprus elected him in free and democratic elections as Bishop of Kition. Two years later, when the Archbishop's Throne was vacant, in democratic elections he was unanimously elected as Archbishop and Ethnarch (National Leader) of the whole Island.

From 1950 to 1956 Makarios dedicated his rare spiritual and mental qualities, as well as his exceptional abilities of inspiration, work and method, to the service of his Church and Country.

His activity has been many-sided, continuous and tireless. And, therefore, it was so fruitful. He strove to better organizing and redressing Church matters, training the clergy, and to this end he founded the School of Apostle Barnabas, also reforming the Church financially and improving the clergy's standard of living. He developed a very wide social activity, being first in everything related to the setting up of various charitable and public utility organizations and their satisfactory operation. He turned with particular affection towards the Youth of Cyprus, which, under his inspiration and initiative, established a special Youth Organization, in 1952, whose purpose was the «Adherence to the ideals of Greek-Christian civilization, affection for man, faith in the higher

moral and spiritual values of life». He saw that the labor classes of the Island should get disconnected from communistic nets, and took initial role in establishing the «new Trade-Unions» which, in opposition to the old Trade-Unions under AKEL's (Communist Party of Cyprus) control, placed the aspirations of Cypriot laborers within a national frame.

Makarios did his best for the Island's education. The British administration, exploiting the inevitable financial difficulties encountered by Secondary Schools, which are maintained by the Greeks of Cyprus, published in June 1952 a Law whereby, under the obvious aim of subjecting and dehellanizing the Island's national instruction, they offered financial support to the Schools which would accept their control and authority. Ethnarch Makarios reacted most actively and drastically to this menace, he took up the protection of Education and called the Cypriot People, under Ethnarch's Circular of August 19, 1952, to a pan-Cypriot contribution in support of Education. Towards this aim Education Funds were established in all Bishopricks, and generous contributions were and are still received from churches, institutions, corporations and private individuals. These local funds support the Schools of the respective provinces in proportion to their needs. At the same time a General Fund, at the Archbishopric, subsidizes the local Funds, should need arise. In this way no school of Secondary Education accepted coming under alien administration, and all have remained independent.

As, however, Cyprus had the misfortune for the last eight whole centuries of seeing one conqueror succeeding another, when the Cypriots wanted to become once again masters in their own home and enjoy the right of self-determination, there were no political leaders to take up the leadership of such a task. The people naturally turned once again towards their Archbishop, although he has not, nor can he have, any political aspirations, as this is forbidden under the Canonical Law of his Church. That he happened to be now the Head of the Cypriot People, who are demanding the right of self-determination to be applied to them as well, this is also an Emergency Solution. Just as it has formerly happened several times in the Orthodox Church, a member of which is also the Church of Cyprus, as soon as things get normal again the religious leaders are limited to their religious duties. Just as it happened with the late Archbishop of Athens, Mgr. Damaskinos, who was asked by Churchill personally to be the Regent and then the Prime Minister of Greece, after the enemy occupation in the last World War. But, as soon as things became normal again, Archbishop Damaskinos went back to his religious duties.

HIS POLITICAL POSITION

Although, as already mentioned, the Archbishop and all his clergy do not mix in politics, yet his attitude towards Communism is clear out and unquestionable. He has proclaimed his opposition to Communism repeatedly. Never, not even in the most critical moments of the Struggle, did he accept that the Liberation Movement of Cyprus would co-operate with Communism, although this might have been considered permissible since the Allies had joined Russia for striking Hitler. As a religious leader he never stopped to enlighten his flock on the communistic world system. Some of his life incidents are characteristic not only of his position on Communism, but also of the manner he deals with it. For instance, a year ago he was on his way to a village in Cyprus, the inhabitants of which were almost all communists. That district's 'instructor' had told them that the Archbishop represented the Church of Christ in form only, but that in substance he served Capitalism and was richly remunerated for this service. When he heard this, the Archbishop went to the village in question and, in his sermon, he said: «I was told that somebody who lives by the Communism has told you that I do not work for Christ, but for Capitalism, and that I am richly paid for this in order to look after their interests and, at the same time, keep you in ignorance. Your informer has stressed to you that such a betrayal is richly remunerated. This is not true. As you all know, I was born here, my father was and is a worker still. Would I be so unfeeling a son as to be swimming in treason's money and letting my father be still a worker? I don't speak of my sisters nor any members of my family, but of my father only who, after all, is an aged man. Such an assertion on the part of the hired men of Communism is not only an insult for your morality, but also for your mind in its most elementary meaning.»

The slogan was not repeated and the local 'instructor' vanished. From that time, whenever the Archbishop visited the village, the peasants came to the outskirts of the village to welcome him with great joy.

CONDEMNING VIOLENCE

Archbishop Makarios, in Britain and other countries, is being blamed for not having sufficiently condemned the armed resistance to which the Cypriots resorted for about a year now. But, as much as they blame him, if they truly condemn violence, can they

tell us what THEY have done for averting it being manifested? What have THEY done for 78 consecutive years when the Cypriots were trying to obtain their self-determination by peaceful means and when the British Government's reply was only an insulting 'NO'? Have THEY ever uttered a single word of protest to the British Government which, in moments of great need, gave some vague hopes to the Cypriot People that their claim would be satisfied, but which they forgot as soon as the danger was over? What did THEY do when two years ago the British Government, instead of the usual 'No', told the Cypriots that their national desire would 'Never' be satisfied?

Yet, despite all refusals and insults by the British Government, that the Cypriots collected as their reward for being law-abiding, they did not resort to violence until April 4, 1955. They tried to get UNO acknowledge their claim and asked the Greek Government to mediate with the British Government and have the question solved peacefully.

The British Government, however, fiercely reacting to any change of the status in Cyprus, had their refusal ready in not letting the Cypriots have any hope that in the future, even the distant future, they might become masters in their own land. And there is also to be added thereto the irony of the British officials. The former Governor of Cyprus, Sir Robert Armitage, told once the British Labor Deputy Mr. Grossman that the Cypriots were not concerned to get the right of self-determination. «Would they have been really concerned», he said, «they would already have proceeded to violent and forceful acts!» After all these, who is the leader who would dare recommending his People that it is not fair that they should resort to violence?

And yet Makarios did this as well. At the luncheon offered to him by the Union of Foreign Correspondents in Greece on May 5, 1955, i.e. hardly a month after EOKA had appeared, he said, among other things, also the following: «As a religious leader of Cyprus I have plainly urged my People to avoid violence... I am against violence.» But, as at the same time he disapproved of the violence exercised by the British Government, the British propagandists alleged that Makarios did not disapprove of the use of violence. The truth is quite the opposite, because Makarios did not satisfy himself in disapproving of violence in an impractical way, but actually wished to positively contribute to its being stopped, despite the reaction he met from the extremist elements of Cyprus and while the Cypriots are imprisoned or put into concentration camps, expelled from their homes and shops, heavily fined, suffering all kinds of molestations and oppressions,

seeing their children vindicating their Country's freedom with cries and stones, being flagellated, put into prison, hanged. For these reasons, and despite all, Archbishop Makarios persisted in continuing negotiations for five months with his People's executioners, making continuous concessions to their fair demands. The British Government, however, arrested him and exiled him. They continually intensify oppression and apply new fascist measures against the Cypriots, in the belief that they will thus break the morale of a most ancient People who has not bent to centuries-long slavery and alien oppression, and that by raising the gun on his temples they would force him signing the agreement.

Who is the free man who feels no shame and indignation for such crimes? Who is the free man who does not understand that the gangster-like abduction and the imprisonment of Makarios is a blow to mankind and a brand to its civilization? Who is the true Britisher who does not recognize that these tyrannical and barbarian acts of his Government are not an insult and dishonor for the liberal English name and do not debase the liberal English traditions? The British Government should stop making such experiments, for the sake of their authority as well as for the sake of the principles of Freedom and Justice. They should at last understand that such things cause harm both to Great Britain and to the whole World.

We denounce to the free and civilized World, as well as to the British People, this behavior of the British Government, which is beyond any description and is inadmissible for it hurts and debases every moral and human law, every liberal and humane principle and the very meaning of Civilization.

We call them to condemn these actions, to react thereto with all their might and all the means at their disposal, and to demand strongly and urgently the immediate release of Archbishop Makarios and the full satisfaction of the lawful and sacred right of Self-determination to the Cypriot People.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF CYPRUS

19 Aghias Philotheis St., Athens, Greece — P. O. Box 596

UNCLASSIFIED

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN
PRESIDENT WILSON, M. CLEMENCEAU AND MR LLOYD-GEORGE
(Paris Peace Conference, May 13, 1919.)

Mr. Lloyd-George: — My intention is to give Cyprus to Greece.

M. Clemenceau: — Don't forget that, according to the Treaty of Berlin, you need for that my authorisation.

Mr. Lloyd-George: — I hope you will grant it to me.

President Wilson: — This would be a great thing.

Mr. Lloyd-George: — That would dispel the atmosphere of greed. As regards the Turks, I feel no scruples. They have no claim to a country which they have transformed into a desert.

.....
Sir Maurice Hankey: — I can testify that around Salonica, where it was very dangerous under the Turkish regime, the Greeks have perfectly restored order.

(See «LES DELIBERATIONS DU CONSEIL DES QUATRES» By Paul Mantoux, Vol. II. P. 59-60 Ed Centre National de la recherche scientifique).

Note: — This conversation took place before Turkey officially relinquished her rights on non-Turkish territories. (Treaty of Lausanne, Art. 16/1923).

UNCLASSIFIED

CONVERSATION ENTRE M.M. LE PRESIDENT WILSON,
CLEMENCEAU ET LLOYD-GEORGE
(13 Mai 1919.-4h)

M. LLOYD-GEORGE: — Mon intention est de donner également à la Grèce l'île de Chypre.

M. CLEMENCEAU — N'oubliez pas que, d'après le Traité de Berlin, il vous faut pour cela mon autorisation.

M. LLOYD-GEORGE — J'espère que vous me la donnerez.

LE PRESIDENT WILSON. — Si vous pouvez faire ce cadeau à la Grèce ce sera une grande chose.

M. LLOYD-GEORGE: — Cela dissiperait l'atmosphère de convoitise et d'avidité dont il faut redouter l'impression. Pour ce qui est des Turcs, je n'ai pas de scrupule envers eux ils n'ont pas de droits sur un pays dont ils n'ont su faire qu'un désert.

SIR MAURICE HANKEY: — Je puis témoigner qu'autour de Salonique, dont les environs étaient très dangereux sous le régime turc, les Grecs ont parfaitement rétabli l'ordre.

(«LES DELIBERATIONS DU CONSEIL DES QUATRES» de Paul Mantoux, Vol. II. p. 59—60. Ed. Centre National de la recherche scientifique).

N B.-Cette conversation eut lieu avant que la Turquie renoucia officiellement à ses droits sur les territoires non-turcs. (Traité de Lausanne, Art. 16/1923).